

# Strike Strike STRIKE

## Chronology

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### Background

#### 1. Racial discrimination in employment.

After finding that Blacks, Mexican-American and Indians only constituted 9% of campus employees (and 2.5% of the students), while they make-up 25% of the State population, four campus Unions make demands on the University administration in October '68. Primary amongst 9 demands was that "The University shall hire only minorities until a minority ratio is reached in all categories and Departments". (Other demands included: establishment of child-care centers for minority and low-income employees, programs to upgrade employee skills, recognition of grievance procedures). Correction of racial imbalance would necessitate hiring of 2582 new minority employees, enrollment of 6300 additional minority students, and placement of minority persons in administrative and executive positions. (At present, minority employment is concentrated in lowest-paid positions: minority persons constituting 3.3% of officials, 3% of professionals, but 16% of the laborers, and 32% of service personnel on the campus.) (pp. 6, 9, 11, 13, 20, 36-7)

#### 2. Intransigence of administration; obstruction of efforts to remedy racial discrimination.

The Unions document a six-month pattern of evasiveness and duplicity on the part of the University administration, which reveals a) their refusal to redress the racial imbalance, and b) their hostility towards independent efforts to deal with the problem.

a) The University has never publicly identified its racial problems; it has opted for random and informal, rather than systematic and authoritative solutions. It has de facto placed the blame for the institutional patterns of discrimination on minority individuals themselves. The administration muzzled the report of the Campus Community Committee (submitted June, '68) which had charged that University efforts to combat racial discrimination were "woefully inadequate" and had called (as one of 55 recommendations) for a "dramatic reassessment of (the University's) commitment to the community that surrounds it". (pp. 22, 58-64)

Despite the creation of 1092 new jobs (and between 4-5000 hirings) the University had only hired 306 Black, Chicano or Indian persons from April, '67 to April, '68. (pp. 67-77)

b) The four unions also documented the administration's response to their attempts to negotiate the problems: six months of evasiveness, failure to keep appointments, suppression of information, and refusal to acknowledge independent efforts to deal with the discriminatory patterns.

#### 3. An unresponsive, irresponsible structure of campus authority.

The report of the Study Commission on University Governance (Jan. 15, 1968) had reached the same conclusions as would the Unions' White Paper ten months later. "...the quality of decisions can only suffer from a pattern of policy making based on selective and private consultation and covert bargaining amongst interest groups." "The burden of the preceding pages is that the system of governance on this campus displays faults of structure,...a method of operation which excludes significant parts of the community and inhibits focused attention and discussion on current problems." (pp. 20-1) The report stressed three major needs: the need for a more public structure of governance, for decentralization of authority, and for student-participation in decision-making.

### Normal Channels

#### APRIL 1968:

Afro-American Students Union (AASU) submits to Chancellor Heyns "Proposals for the Establishment of a Program of Black Studies". This proposal suggests the establishment of a Black Studies Program "of, by, and for black people" to evolve into a Department of Afro-American studies. It lists a course of study which includes field work in the community during the junior year. A proposal was also made for greater Third World hiring.

Mexican-American Student Confederation (MASC) begins work on experimental bi-lingual college patterned after the Tussman program.

#### AUGUST 1968:

Under pressure from the AASU, Chancellor Heyns appoints Dr. Billingsley, Associate Professor of Social Welfare, as Assistant Chancellor for Academic Affairs to develop a Black Studies Dept. proposal and to recruit TW faculty. George Napper (former president of Black Graduate Student Union and a main contributor to the April proposals) is appointed as his assistant.

#### SEPTEMBER 1968:

Dean Knight appoints an ad hoc committee chaired by Paul Kay, Associate Professor of Anthropology, to research the idea of Afro-American studies. This committee is to be advisory to the College of Letters and Science.

#### OCTOBER 1968:

11 people arrested for sit-in at President Hitch's office when Hitch refuses to discuss MASC minority programs or their demand that U. C. cease buying Delano grapes. Administration later agrees to academic amnesty and provides funds to cover operation of a Chicano center, with understanding that more funds would be available for the center at the end of 10 weeks.



--First mass meeting held by TWLF. Non-TW students organize Strike Support Committee.  
 --First departmental support for the strike comes from the Dept. of Social Welfare.

## *Rights Not Given, Must Be Won!*

2 sit-ins and a 2 day strike evolve from issues surrounding the 139X (Clever) Course. The Regents block credit for the course and move to severely limit further student initiated experimental programs.

### NOVEMBER 1968:

- 3 A Third World College, increased minority hiring, and greater minority student enrollment are demanded by New World Alliance (an ad hoc alliance of present TWLF groups and 139X support groups).
- 6 San Francisco State strike begins.  
New World Alliance boycotts classes.
- 7 Administration and New World Alliance meets: Heyns will not discuss the NWA demands, but recommends that students talk to specific departments and committees concerned with each demand.
- 12 Heyns tells Academic Senate that a Black Studies Program will be established beginning the fall quarter 1969.

### DECEMBER 1968:

- 3 Dean Knight refers the AASU proposal (revised by Billingsley and approved by AASU executive) to the Executive Committee of L & S chaired by Paul Seabury.
- 6 The Executive Committee meets on the proposals. During Dec., revisions are made: community involvement program is dropped, student participation is rejected, special autonomous status for Black Studies is denied.
- Late Dec. Kay Committee submits a proposal for a temporary Department of Afro-American Studies. The report closely follows the Billingsley proposal.

During this time University professors receive letters from a national Center for Radical Alternatives, inviting them to help "defend academic freedom against extremism" and "multiple varieties of putchism". The return addressees are S. I. Hayakawa, the Vice-Chairman, and Sidney Hook. The professors are urged, on this campus, to contact Paul Seabury. The letter sees campus difficulties in terms of "extremism" and "irrationality" rather than in terms of institutional structures or the fundamental clash between different standards of rationality. From early Dec. to Jan. 15, the AASU proposal is thus in the hands of Seabury, a member of this national organization.

### JANUARY 1969:

Throughout Dec., the Executive Committee of L & S deliberates about AASU proposals. Black faculty, students, and the administrator hired to oversee the development of the proposal (Billingsley) are excluded from all meetings, from the decision-making process, and denied information on the status of their proposals.

11 AASU calls for a strike if no autonomous Black Studies Dept. is created.

## *T.W.L.F. Emerges*

- 15 L & S Executive Committee approves an Afro-American Program instead of a department.

--Dean Knight submits a proposal to Heyns based on the Exec. Committee's decision, but recommends a Department of Afro-American Studies within the College of L & S to be set up for Fall 1969.  
 --Seabury resigns as Exec. Committee chairman in protest. (DC)  
 --Professor Blackwell (Statistics) is appointed by Knight as chairman of the implementing committee for the department. The other members of this committee are to be appointed from names provided by the Committee on Committees of the College of L & S.  
 --AASU, still denied access to the L & S proposal, writes letter to campus (DC) in which they set Jan. 17 as deadline for meeting their demands. In answer to charge of escalation, they explain that the reason they confront the University with larger demands is because of "a) the lack of meaningful participation by Blacks during L & S evaluation meetings, and b) lack of control... over implementation of the dept. We learned from this. The same thing would happen to any... similar proposal barring organizational rearrangement."  
 --TW Faculty Alliance later states (Feb. 20), "White men (had been) talking to white men about what was good for blacks... deleting the essential community oriented features and turning it into a traditional academic approach..."

- 16 Professor Seabury notes (DC Jan 16) that student participation on decision-making level "was never formally discussed."
- Asian-American Political Alliance (AAPA) joins the AASU call.
- 17 The day the AASU has set as the deadline; demands have not yet been met.
- 19 MASC and Native Americans join the strike call.  
Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) is formed.
- 20 Strike is postponed so that a convocation can be held to inform the campus community about the issues.

--AFT 1570 (TA's) vote to hold work stoppage from Jan. 22-27 in support of the TWLF demands and in sympathy with striking professors at San Jose and San Francisco State Colleges.

- 21 TWLF calls for a strike to begin Jan. 22 and states its demands:
  1. funds for the implementation of TW programs by Feb. 14, 1969.
  2. greater recruitment and hiring of TW people.
  3. admissions, financial aid, academic assistance to all TW people.
  4. extended work study programs into TW communities.
  5. control of all programs involving TW communities by TW people.
  6. no disciplinary action taken against strikers.

### 22 TWLF strike begins.

--Dean Shotwell (DC Jan 22) warns TWLF leaders about breaking campus regulations and threatens to bar from Federal grants and loans students "found guilty of disruptive activity on the campus."  
 --Heyns says he "would not hesitate to bring the police on campus" to help him in his "fundamental commitment to continue the educational process on the campus."  
 --In an article entitled "Strike not Warranted", Heyns charges that the strike comes without public warning, that the University is making progress on EOP and other programs, is hiring minority employees and is seeking out minority scholars. He feels that a "Department" can best achieve "objectives presently outlined", and expresses necessity of administrative initiative to insure a program that would "meet appropriate academic standards". He introduces the charge of segregation and announces, "There will be no academic ghetto." Heyns admits that in the past "substantive concerns of the Black experience and culture have not been an integral part of our curriculum." He concludes, however, that the strike does not arise from campus issues, but from "other goals" which do not answer the needs of the school's students or... of the minority communities."  
 --MASC states that irrespective of the truth or falsehood of Heyns' arguments, the demands of TW students constitute "a claim to the right of the people to participate in the decision-making apparatus of the institutions that affect their lives."



--Fire in Wheeler Auditorium.

--Heyns states (Chronicle Jan. 24), "The destruction... almost surely an act of arson."

--The Berkeley Fire Chief reports that the lab tests "failed to show supportive evidence of arson... no further tests planned (DC Feb. 17)."

--Jaime Soliz (DC Jan 24): "It is our intention not to destroy the University but to open it up to all people."

--Executive committees of AFT Locals 1474, 1570, 1795 (faculty, TA's, librarians) support the strike and "re-establishment of viable working conditions". AFSCME Local 1695 supports TWLF demands.

23 TWLF finds Knight's proposal inadequate because the 7 man implementing committee includes four whites and excludes students and because the department is denied authority over freshmen admittance.

24 After Heyns states "EOP is making progress" (Jan 22), Sherrill, head of EOP receives a memo from the Office of Admissions directing him to limit the number of minority admissions under EOP 70%, admitting 38 students instead of the proposed 120.

--TWLF article in DC clarifies that TWLF will accept an interim Dept. of Ethnic Studies if guaranteed a TW College.

--TWLF leaflet "Power to the People" states, "We recognize that the racist power structure does not give up power willingly. Rights are not given; they must be won."

27 President Hitch warns that "implementation of ethnic studies departments must follow regular University procedures." A TWLF spokesman points out there are no TW people on regular Academic review committees.

--TWLF demand on minority admissions is clarified; "any TW person with the potential to learn and contribute as assessed by TW people."  
 --First strike meeting between TWLF and Heyns is held.

--Boalt Hall Minority Student Assoc. leads a week long boycott of law classes in support of TWLF strike.

--150 member Faculty Alliance supports strike; states that conformity to "present academic standards would destroy the uniqueness and innovative character" of the plan for Black Studies.

--"Overwhelming majority" of TW faculty and administrators (DC Jan 28) give general support for strike; urge development of Ethnic Studies College, and recommends university programs relating to TW communities be controlled by representatives of those communities.

28 TWLF strike booklet clarifies that "the intent is not to keep white people out of the program"; at issue are rather questions of control and standards.

--AFT Local 1570 (TA's) holds a strike vote which fails to get two-thirds majority, but it endorses the demands of the strike and urges members not to cross picket lines.



--Sather Gate is blocked for the first time. TWLF spokesmen explain that the urgent issues require urgent tactics; they wish to prevent students from carrying on "business as usual", and to force them to make a choice one way or the other.  
 --The first outside police appear on campus; CHP's arrive by bus after the picket line breaks up.  
 --Blackwell resigns as chairman of implementing committee.

29 Strike picks up support. Picket lines estimated at 1500; completely encircle Sproul Hall, six abreast.  
 --TWLF requests suspension of classes for the rest of week in favor of convocation to discuss issues. Heyns denies permission.  
 --For the first time the "mutual aid pact" between Bay Area police forces is put into effect. 60 police clear Sather Gate. Hayward, San Leandro, Livermore, Pleasanton, Fremont, CHP, and Alameda County Sheriffs are eventually called onto campus.

30 Heyns states that police are called on campus to protect the rights of non-strikers' access to campus.  
 --Administration declares that disciplinary action will definitely be taken against persons violating campus rules.  
 --ASUC supports the strike.  
 --First arrests are made by plainclothesmen. Students are charged with obstruction of public thoroughfare (647C) and bail is set first at \$200, and then raised to \$500.  
 --25 warrants are issued from Jan 29 on the basis of pictures taken by police of stable picket lines. The Jan. 28 DC states that Sproul Hall is building up a file of photographs and information on striking students.  
 31 Some classes have been moved off campus. Classes meeting off-campus find that U. C. administration has tried to persuade churches and other facilities to deny class meeting space. Cheit declares this policy is for the convenience of the students and is not due to the strike.

## FEBRUARY:

2 Alameda County Sheriff Madigan attacks the administration for inaction; threatens to withdraw troops unless there is firmer action.  
 3 Academic Senate condemns the violence and disruptive tactics of the strike.  
 --Strikers in stationary lines provoked, then arrested by plainclothesmen posing as students.



## Escalation Of Violence

4 Heyns responds to Madigan in DC that the University can take care of its own business in dealing with rule violators.  
 --Heyns puts 11 people on interim suspension.  
 --Violence and arrests grow; 350 students march through buildings, 20 injures, 20 arrested. Many leaders selectively arrested on prior warrants.  
 5 Reagan declares "State of Extreme Emergency". Control of police on campus placed in the hands of Madigan. Heyns cooperates, and claims University life will continue as normal.  
 --Reagan proposes emergency legislation to keep students and faculty convicted of crimes during campus disorder from re-entering their campuses for one year.  
 --Noon rallies cancelled for the rest of week by Dean Shotwell (thus abrogating free speech rights gained by students since FSM).  
 --Academic Senate approves L & S proposal for Dept. of Afro-American Studies.  
 6 Dean Knight makes public proposal for Dept. of Afro-American Studies.  
 --Large demonstration and picket lines despite state of emergency.  
 --Oakland police used for first time.  
 --After the day's strike activities are over, Cordell Abercrombie, AASU member, is seized by 6 plainclothesmen, beaten in the basement of Sproul Hall, and later charged with felonious assault.  
 --Jaime Soliz states, "When you negotiate around our demands you negotiate around our lives."  
 7 TWLF declares (DC) there will be no further negotiations until the 6 men who beat Abercrombie are apprehended and punished.



8(Sat.) TW students and faculty Progress Committee meet with Heyns to discuss composition and mandate of Implementing Committee. The Strike Central Committee refuses to negotiate the demands until they are satisfied concerning the Abercrombie beating. Progress Comm. demands that the "advice and support" of an implementing committee, which would include students, be considered "essential and indispensable" to any future work on a Department and College. Heyns says his "key faculty" may not go for this, but refuses to check immediately with these faculty, because he refuses to work under pressure imposed by TWLF Central Committee.

10 Heyns fails to appear as expected at TWLF Central Comm. meeting. TW students and faculty are informed he has gone to Wash., D. C. They are referred concerning the Implementing Committee to Vice-Chancellor Cheit.  
 --DeVos Committee on Ethnic Studies (originally part of Kay Comm.) submits report: because of need for "community oriented programs... the administrative unit known as the 'College' is most appropriate... for development of minority programs."

11 Cheit say key faculty will not "compromise integrity of (Senate and administration) review procedures". He suggests his own substitute formula, which would relegate the Committee to advisory status. TW students and faculty refuse.  
 --Jake Jacobs, Secy-Treas. of OCAW (representing Richmond Oil Workers) endorses TW demands and announces formation of student-labor coalition. Students helping picket at Standard Oil are tear-gassed by Richmond police.  
 13 At noon rally, Jim Nabors of TWLF states that police are not on campus to protect non-strikers, but to break the strike; states that TW wants what all students need -- self-determination.  
 --TA's arrested in peaceful, legal AFT picket line; bail set at \$500, \$250 beyond bail schedule limits. Clifford Vaughns, Black KRLA newsmen is beaten, arrested, and beaten again while in custody in basement of Sproul Hall. 36 people arrested in all.  
 --Dan Siegel, ASUC Legal Advocate, brings suit against the University for its policy on interim suspensions. He charges that the policy constitutes a violation of due process under the 14th Amendment, as it punishes students by suspending them prior to legal hearing; also charges arbitrary arrests.

14 Academic Freedom Committee of Academic Senate publishes letter in DC questioning police on their tactics and on arrest of peaceful pickets.  
 --AFT 1474 (Faculty) joins picket in order to defend right to peaceful picketing. AFT 1795 (librarians) condemn police activity on campus.  
 17 Faculty committee created to watch for police brutality in Sproul.  
 18 AFT votes 233/41 to join the strike. AFSCME joins the AFT. Nabors arrested 2nd time; beaten by police and charged with battery.  
 19 Major clash between students and police; mace used; 24 arrested. Students use cherry-bombs and throw "rocks, bottles, fruit and cans" (DC Jan. 20); police charge students: strikers and non-strikers and into Student Union. First day students actively fight police.  
 --Stories signed by 12 University employees and others document (in DC) severe beatings in basement of Sproul Hall. (Specifically attesting to Vaughns beating).  
 --Boalt Law students use their own sound equipment to test ban on rallies.  
 20 Tear gas used on campus; strikers throw tear gas canisters back into police lines; police chase strikers into Telegraph Ave; 15 arrested; students overturn two vans; National Guard alerted. (Early in the day, oil workers join strike lines.) DC editor Tom Collins arrested for inciting to riot while singing "We Shall Overcome".  
 --Heyns declares (DC) he cannot meet TWLF demands on Implementing Comm., because to do so would be "to delegate... the power to appoint faculty, approve courses, and to admit students"; this would "compromise the integrity of the campus academic review procedures." He charges that TWLF has suddenly and arbitrarily ended discussions;



--Letter signed by 6 TW faculty sent to DC answering Heyns; states "It may be necessary to change the integrity of the review process in order to maintain our integrity as human beings"; recounts the actions by which Heyns himself had ended the discussions.

21 National Guard appears on campus joined by 700 police and S. F. and San Jose Tactical Squads.  
--Regents meeting at University Hall. 4000 strikers march to the meeting and stage a rally; TWLF leaders urge strikers not to initiate violence and to keep calm.

--Regents adopt order providing for suspension and deprivation of financial benefits to anyone who "there is reasonable cause to believe" violated any campus rules --including those adopted under the state of emergency.

24 TWLF leaders request use of Greek Theater or Harmon Gym for all-day convocation to discuss the issues and to constitute the "first meeting of the TW College"; "We want to take this debate away from the center of campus to someplace quiet. We want to get to the substantive issues". Heyns denies request to deescalate tension on campus, saying "the situation is so complex that it can't be resolved by meeting with 15,000 people".

--AFT 1570 (TA's) ask for strike sanction from Alameda Labor Council.  
--At meeting in Pauley Ballroom, Prof. Lichtman charges that "the faculty fears that their intellectual property values will fall if the Blacks move in too close with their own standards".

25 Judge Talbot (Berkeley-Albany Judicial District) revises bail schedule; bail for Obstructing Public Thoroughfare (647C, on which many strikers were arrested) is raised from \$250 to a sliding scale of \$200-\$500. (The last bail revision was Oct., 1968. Attorney Avi Stachenfield declares (DC Feb. 27) that "We are basically fighting a real distortion of the legal system..."; reports special harsh treatment is being imposed upon these political protestors).

--Law students cited for illegal use of sound equipment; administration thus refuses to test legality of rally ban itself.

--DC reports that meetings between TWLF and Heyns resumed Feb. 24.

--Heyns refuses to grant amnesty for arrested students; emphasizes fact that arrested students face loss of EOP funds (on which most TW students depend).

--AFT 1474 (faculty) accuses Reagan of "exacerbating" the campus situation and pledges to oppose any "punitive disciplinary action" that might result from Regent's resolutions.

--TWLF spokesman announces "the TW will no longer disavow violence."

--Arbitrary arrests continue. Jaime Soliz arrested 2nd time; hospitalized after arrest.

## "Business As Usual?"

26 Heyns answers students' questions in DC. He maintains that he and not Madigan is in charge of police on campus; denies that police provoke trouble, and charges that the strike is "counter-productive". He suggests students go about their normal routines and avoid areas of trouble on campus.

27 AFT 1474 (faculty) charges Reagan with usurping campus autonomy and endorses "the principle of a predominant role for TW people in implementation of a Department and a College of Ethnic Studies".

--One-half hour before TWLF is supposed to negotiate with Heyns, 2 members of the negotiating committee--Delgado and Macias--are beaten by police and arrested. Macias, beaten from behind, is hospitalized and in a coma for 6 hours. Both charged with felonious assault, repeat arrests for both. Heyns then calls off negotiations, attributing cause to breaking 38 windows by strikers, including those to his office.

28 AFT response to Heyns charges that Madigan is in charge of the campus, that Heyns tries to claim credit for "programs conceived of and worked out by others", and that he considers police innocent until proven guilty while conveniently neglecting to mention his policy of interim suspensions which judges students guilty until proven innocent. Also that he "fails to mention that huge funds have been found and normal judicial and administrative procedures bypassed in order to bring police on campus..." The AFT states that "business as usual" is impossible. (Jan. 28)

--National Guard comes onto campus; tear gas used again.

--DC announces that 53 students have been put on Interim Suspension.

--Radical Student Union newspaper reports that one out of every 12 bills "introduced in the current legislature is aimed at suppressing student activism on the campuses"; legislation talks of loyalty oaths for students, restrictions on rights of activity and expression for students and employees.

--Board of Educational Development Chairman John Kelley resigns; claims that the "Regents killed the Board". The Board had been an educational experiment growing out of the Muscatine Report and the 1966 strike which had authorized student-initiated courses.

--Campus policeman beaten; Cordell Abercrombie arrested and charged with 2nd felony.

--Numerous departments, graduate associations, and religious unions support TWLF demands, or demands and the strike, or oppose state of emergency on campus. Support also from Black Panthers, Oakland 7, and the Peoples Republic of China ("Red China hits Reagan for trying to suppress 'the progressive wave of student struggle' at Berkeley with 'fascist measures'". S. F. Chronicle, Feb. 23)



"PEOPLE ARE AFRAID THAT

## Revolution Is Starting

ON THE CAMPUSES AND I THINK THEY'RE RIGHT"

- Chancellor Dumke.

--Within the last two weeks, the following campuses have had demonstrations to establish departments of Black Studies and/or to limit defense research: Duke, Roosevelt, Howard, Oberlin, Penn., N.C., Wesleyan, Wisc., Illinois, Penn St., Stanford, Montreal, Brandeis, University of Chicago, CCNY, Swarthmore, College of San Mateo, San Fernando State, San Jose State, San Francisco State.

### MARCH 1968:

3 Police occupy buildings around campus in response to Strike Support Committees plan to take issues to the classrooms.

4 Calif. Federation of Teachers grant strike sanction to AFT 1570. --Alameda Labor Council exec. committee grants strike sanction to TA's, but Dick Groux, Exec. Sec., decided to postpone release of sanction.

--Academic Senate goes on record 550-4 (DC) as favoring "the establishment of an Ethnic Studies Dept., reporting directly to the Chancellor, which could eventually evolve into a College of Ethnic Studies." It also recommends the early appointment of a chairman. (This motion, prepared by Prof. Schorske, is based on proposal drafted by Profs. Wolin, Dizard, Kornhauser appearing in March 3 DC) Heyns' recommendation, that whatever unit is created "have no more or less autonomy than any existing units", is embodied in Tussman motion, and defeated. The main motion passes after Troy Duster has stated that the Dept. "will involve students in decision-making if it is passed". While silent on important points (e. g. exact student role), key faculty indicate approval a) of a Dept. that would differ from existing depts. in that it would not be accountable to the Academic Senate Committees or the College of L & S, and b) of an eventual College of Ethnic Studies. TWLF statement, March 5, "The passing of this resolution makes it clear that Chancellor Heyns is the main obstacle to the establishment of the TW College". AFT letter to DC (March 7) makes same point.

5 AFSCME asks strike sanction for strike beginning March 11.

--University hires Burns Detectives to help police occupy buildings.

--3 Strike Support Committee members placed on interim suspension for suspicion of participation in march through University facilities.

7 Dean Bouwsma asks Departmental Chairmen for names of striking TA's and threatens to suspend them.

--Unofficial report of the Task Force on Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation, a sub-committee of the President's Commission on Violence, is released by DC. Written by Jerome Skolnick, it reports that "the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate violence is political", that though it is difficult to trace responsibility for the violence in contemporary demonstrations, research "suggests that authorities bear a major responsibility". It writes that "The myth of peaceful progress... is intended at bottom to legitimize existing arrangements and to authorize the suppression of protest". The report, which has been suppressed by the President's Commission (and has only become public through Liberation News Service) concludes, "Little by little, we move toward an armed society, which while not clearly totalitarian, could no longer be said to rest on consent of the governed."

10 Heyns states in Newsweek magazine that the strike can be attributed to a small group of militants, "perhaps 10 or 12", who want "either to seize control of the University or to destroy it", and who "use the race issue as a good cover". This assertion, ignoring institutional roots of protests, repeats his 1966 explanation of the Dec. Strike, explains the selective arrests of TWLF and Berkeley radical leadership, and contradicts conclusions of the Third World Liberation Front, Commissions on Campus Governance, AFT Report, and National Commission on Violence.